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Great Whodunit of '59: Whatever happened to the 'liberal' Congress?

By Louis E. Burnham

THE 86TH CONGRESS is well on the way toward compiling a legislative record more bereft of liberal achievement than any of its recent predecessors. Its lack of achievement has become so embarrassing that even some Congressmen have begun to worry.

Thus, Rep. Ludlow Ashley (D-Ohio) titled one of his recent newsletters "Whodunit" and set out to explore "one of the most baffling political mysteries of modern days." He complained that "all but vanished from the scene is the liberal legislative body elected in last November's sweeping Democratic victory."

He attributed the mystery to (1) the success of the President's campaign for curtailed Federal spending; (2) his use of the veto, and (3) the re-emergence of the long-standing partnership between Southern Democrats and conservative Republicans.

WHEAT BILL VETO: The influence of each of these factors has been amply demonstrated in recent efforts of Congress to enact sorely-needed legislation. On June 26 the President vetoed a bill to control wheat prices at 90% of parity. It was the 140th time the President had disallowed legislation since he took office in 1953. Not once has Congress mustered the two-thirds majority needed to over-ride the veto and it clearly could not succeed in this instance.

The prospect, therefore, was that no farm bill would come out of this session

(Continued on Page 5)

NO MORE LESSONS, NO MORE BOOKS, NO MORE TEACHERS' DIRTY LOOKS . . .
Remember the dear old days when you felt like this—the day school closed for the summer?

Herblock, Washington Post
"I'm more economical than you are."

THE 64 BILLION DOLLAR DISASTER

Congressional quiz show rigged to minimize atomic holocaust

By Robert E. Light

TELEVISION'S Marshal Wyatt Earp, actor Hugh O'Brian, sat in the rear of a hearing room in Washington last week while the Joint Congressional Atomic Energy Subcommittee played a quiz game with scientists and defense officials on the effects of nuclear war. O'Brian said he had just come from a visit with Dr. Albert Schweitzer in Africa, "and he is so worried about the effect of radioactive fall-out on civilization that I decided to attend these hearings."

O'Brian said he planned a TV show based on what he had learned from the hearings. But he would have a lot of re-casting to do because the committee's show was as rigged as the defunct TV quizes.

This was the setting: Make believe it is a typical October afternoon. Without warning an enemy launches a nuclear attack against us, delivered by long-range aircraft, intercontinental missiles and submarine-launched missiles. Simultaneously 260 "dirty" H-bombs (one to ten megatons in size) are dropped on 70 cities, 133 military installations and 21 Atomic Energy Commission installations. The total force of the attack is 1,453 megatons. (A megaton has the explosive force of 1,000,000 tons of TNT.)

I'M GLAD YOU ASKED: At the same time a nuclear attack is launched on U.S. bases in Western Europe. Our military retaliates against the enemy. The total force of these blasts is 2,500 megatons.

Question: What happens to the U.S. and the rest of the world?

For five days the committee heard harrowing accounts of tortuous death, destruction and suffering. But each day the hearings summed up on a cheerful note: Not all of the country will be destroyed and millions will be saved if we institute an extensive civil defense program now.

Committee chairman Rep. Chet Holifeld (D-Calif.) is also chairman of the Joint Civil Defense Subcommittee. He has long been concerned over the Congressional and public apathy for his pet project, a mass shelter program.

Civil and Defense Mobilization officials approve the program, but lean to evacuation of cities as the primary defense. Others, remembering how difficult it is to drive out of a big city on a summer Sunday, believe shelters are the answer.

DO-IT-YOURSELF: The budget-conscious Administration would like shelters, but thinks everyone should build his own. Congress would rather spend money elsewhere, and in the last nine years it has pared the civil defense budget by 77%.

In Federal civil defense plans, counties are the basic unit in a pyramid structure. But to date, only 572 of 3,047 counties have drawn up plans. As for the public, the N.Y. **Times** (June 28) reported: "Many persons do not know the mean-

(Continued on Page 4)

A Declaration of Independence

(As adopted in secret session by the Committee on Un-American Activities)

WHEN IN THE COURSE of political events, it becomes necessary for one Committee to dissolve the human bonds which have connected it with the people, and assume among the Powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Superstition and Ignorance entitle it, a decent contempt for the opinions of mankind requires that it should conceal the causes which impel it to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all Christian white Americans are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain Unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Property and persecution of Others. That to secure these rights, Committees are instituted among Governments, deriving their just powers from the dissent of the governed. That whenever any Form of Democracy becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the Committee to alter or abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their own Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate, that Committees long established should not be changed for light or good causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the Committees to which they are accustomed.

WE THEREFORE, Representatives of the Disunited States of America, in Committee Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the turpitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of Ourselves, solemnly publish and declare, That this House Committee is, and of Right ought to be, Free and Independent of all other Government agencies: that it is Absolved from all Allegiance to the Constitution, and that all political connection between it and the United States Government is and ought to be totally dissolved: and that as a Free and Independent Committee it has full power to levy War on dissidents, conclude Peace with bigots, contract Alliances with fascists, establish Commerce with cartels, and do all others Acts and Things which Independent Committees may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes, and our Vested Interests.

(Reprinted from the Guardian, July 4, 1949)

In this issue

GERMAN BEDFELLOWS
And short memories . . p. 3
BRITAIN & THE BOMB
The great debate . . . . . p. 4
OUR CIVIL LIBERTIES
And the High Court . . . p. 5
CHILDREN OF CHINA
Anna Louise Strong . . . p. 8

THE MAIL BAG

Scandalous close

SEATTLE, WASH.

Several of our friends bemoan the fact that the GUARDIAN isn't a Marxist paper. We tell 'em you didn't set out to be a Marxist paper . . . just a united front paper and at that particular job you've accomplished more than some of the alleged Marxist papers, in your efforts to defend the interests of the American working class. Without the hammer and sickle on the masthead, you've carried a more consistent Marxist line than the papers whose sole purpose it was to do so. Sure, there's been a diversion of opinion,—but that very seldom—and if you haven't batted 1.000 you've come scandalous close to it. And that's what counts. **The Floods**

Coincidence

CHICAGO, ILL.

The State Department's release of a "tape recording" of Soviet flyers "shooting" a USA plane on Sept. 2, 1958, was released on Feb. 5, 1959. That was the very day when the House of Representatives was to debate (and to approve!) continuation of the peacetime conscription law.

In this incident, as in many others designed and timed to accentuate international tension as well as feelings of insecurity within the U.S., what can one see other than psychological war by the Pentagon?

Albert Bofman

Negro writers, U.S.A.

NEW YORK, N.Y.

This is a belated reaction to your May article on the Negro writer in the U.S. I was particularly disturbed by the manner in which the writer assessed, or more correctly, didn't assess, the Negro writers' output during the period beginning with Richard Wright's 1938 publication of **Native Son** and ending with the recent tapering off of McCarthyism.

From your article, it would appear (to mention a few glaring omissions) that Ralph Ellison did not publish a book called **The Invisible Man**, that James Baldwin made no **Notes of a Native Son**, that Lloyd Brown did not produce **Iron City**, that Ann Petry did not show us a good deal of **The Street**, that a few Negro poets were not highly vocal, courageously critical, and painfully perceptive of the Negro experience a la U.S.A.

Dramatic works such as Alice Childress' **Trouble in Mind**, William Branch's **Medal for Willie**, and Loften Mitchell's **Land Beyond the River**, whatever minor craft deficiencies they might have had, were representative of their writers' strict adherence to the most noble requisites of good theater—honest portrayal of human life in life-seeking motion.

It would appear from your article that the most significant contribution to date, barring none, to our mutual struggle to "translate the material and the meaning of his [the Negro writer's] people's experience into living literature," was not made when John O. Killens' **Youngblood** thundered across our McCarthy-stricken country in 1954.

And please, let us have what we've grown to expect from our fine writer, Louis E. Burnham, truth, and credit given where credit is due. Yours for the time of "That Great Getting Up Morning."

Sarah E. Wright

Miss Wright is right in protesting the failure to mention Negro writing during the McCarthy period. There was no intention, however, to tamper with truth or withhold credit. We will in the future deal with the works of many of the writers she mentions, including her own fine sheaf of poems, Give Me a Child, *co-authored with Lucy Smith. Then Miss Wright and others can get at our views for what they are worth, not on the basis of presumptions made because (for lack of space, and that alone) we have said nothing.*—Ed.

Lena and 'Dad' Snyder

DANVILLE, CALIF.

I have just returned home after waiting days with his good wife Lena for that fine old "war horse," J. E. Snyder, to breathe his last. He was 82. Snyder was editor of the Oakland **World**, published by the Socialist Party, during the Mooney case, and was one of the first papers to print true reports about the young Soviet Union. He was also at one time the national organizer of the Socialist Party, a fiery warrior and a persevering socialist. He was one of the persons who suggested the name of the **People's World** when that paper was founded in 1937.

I want to pay tribute to Lena for the hard life she has lived so that "Dad" Snyder might be able to do all he did for the "cause." I have known and watched her efforts for over 35 years. I usually say of my small offerings (one enclosed): "Put this to work where it will do the most good." But this time I know where that is: a bouquet for Lena.

(Mrs.) R. E. Anderson

Exoneration with damages

PASADENA, CALIF.

I don't know just how to classify the efforts being made to render a posthumous verdict exonerating Sacco and Vanzetti after they have been dead for more than 30 years. You can't get their corpses and Judge Thayer's out of the beneficent atmosphere, waters, earth and fire where their elements mingle, nor can you make an unjust, immoral, illegal and inhuman action "right" by legal enactment. So, when your editorial mentions the "righting of the wrong," I wonder what kind of reason applies. Of course, if this "righting" includes a very substantial pecuniary damage action, decided in favor of their heirs, it may make sense.

John G. Moore

Wall Street Journal

"I won't see any underlings. I want to speak directly to Grandma."

Easing the way

CHICAGO, ILL.

Please accept this check from our club, in the hope that many more of your friends will do likewise. The road is rough for all decent causes but we must go on, so that eventually, with the great help of the GUARDIAN, we can have peace on earth.

Dr. N. Welcher

Power-play

CUMMINGTON, MASS.

Your excellent article on the dismal record of Congress made me turn to C. Wright Mills' **The Power Elite** and reread the two chapters that were, to me, the most eye-opening and thought-provoking: The Political Directorate and The Theory of Balance. He shows that all real power in national affairs has been taken over by the Executive, i.e., by the tool of the Power Elite. The vast number of departments and bureaus, agencies and commissions, all headed by men appointed, not elected, have taken over the power and do what they, or their masters, please—without reference to Congress and often without Congress knowing anything about it until it is done, even in case of a declaration of war.

What does have its origin in Congress, if unpleasing to the real rulers, will never get out of committee even for debate to say nothing of being put to vote because the seniority rule gives the chairmanship of committees to old men whom the Executive can absolutely control. Therefore, if the new liberal members of Congress put through no legislation, it may well be because they simply can't get the bills to the floor.

Margaret A. Fellows

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

The city formally accepted yesterday gifts of $10,000 each by two private donors to assure free Shakespeare in Central Park this summer.

The Board of Estimate's unanimous vote was marked by an attack on Joseph Papp, producer of the New York Shakespeare Festival, by Borough President James J. Lyons of the Bronx. [He said:]

"I favor Shakespeare; it is a very fine thing but it should be conducted by someone who has not appeared before a Congressional Committee and taken the Fifth Amendment on communism."

—The New York Times, 6/26

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: G.A., Manhattan, N.Y.

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

A NEW TRIAL has been ordered for the Trenton Six. This is a happening of enormous significance, and one with which NATIONAL GUARDIAN's readers are uniquely concerned. When the GUARDIAN came into existence last October, the six had already been in the death house over two months. But their case was unknown to the public outside the area of Trenton, the capital of the state of New Jersey, where all New York and Philadelphia papers have correspondents, and where the big wire services maintain news bureaus.

The case was given its first airing in our second issue, Oct. 25, 1948. For months the GUARDIAN alone printed the news of the Trenton protest. GUARDIAN readers yanked the case to world attention. NATIONAL GUARDIAN and its readers, and the millions of others who forced an opening for genuine justice in this case, may feel richly gratified.

—Editorial in the Guardian, July 4, 1949

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REPORT TO READERS

Of time and parties

THIS REPORT is both a commentary on a body of political legislation now before Congress, and a recommendation of an excellent current book which provides what we of the GUARDIAN regard as essential background to considering the political legislation in question.

● The book is **Third Parties in American Politics** by Howard P. Nash Jr., profusely and most interestingly illustrated with material compiled by M. B. Schnapper and with an introduction by historian William B. Hesseltine (Public Affairs Press, 419 New Jersey Av. S.E., Washington, D.C. 326 pp. $6.)

● The legislation is a cluster of bills in the House and Senate to revise the Federal Communications Act to nullify the principle of equal time for third parties or other minority parties on radio and TV during political campaigns.

THIS LEGISLATION has been the subject of current hearings, with network executives leading a chorus of approval, and only two voices that we have heard—the Socialist Labor Party and New York's United Independent-Socialist Committee—appearing against it. The UI-SC spokesman, newspaperman William A. Price, stole the show on an hour-long television forum on the bills broadcast June 28 in the New York and Chicago areas.

Price's testimony, and his arguments in the CBS forum, introduced an unexpected aspect of the controversy. In sum, Price argued that not only should the equal-time concept on Federally-licensed radio and TV remain unimpaired, but that Congress should go forward to investigate state election laws which inhibit and in some states virtually prohibit new parties from access to the ballot, in violation of the 14th Amendment. He added the information that both of today's major parties had resulted from third party formations against the early two-party system; and that most of the great reforms and democratic advances since the Revolution were introduced by third parties or minority parties.

PRICE DID NOT have the opportunity to list all such steps forward, but Prof. Hesseltine does in his introduction to Mr. Nash's **Third Parties in American Politics.** Some of these include abolition of slavery, Negro suffrage, woman suffrage, direct election of senators, the income tax, postal savings, the convention system for political parties, direct primary election of convention delegates—and prohibition. In his own preface the author credits a third-party movement with introducing the concept of public education.

This does not mean that all third parties were of noble birth. Nash describes the rise of the Anti-Mason Party in New York as resulting from editor Thurlow Weed shaving the beard off a cadaver found in Lake Ontario and declaring "There, that'll be a good enough Morgan till after the election." Morgan was a clean-shaven Mason allegedly done in for threatening to disclose Masonic secrets.

The Locofoco movement (so-called because Tammany men turned off the lights at the first meeting and the participants continued with the aid of candles and "locofoco" self-lighting matches) fought the 1837 depression on a program which was anti-monopoly, anti-bank, and for a money system based on equalization of work—"Labor for Labor." The most disagreeable job was to receive the highest pay.

Even the American Party (dubbed "Know-Nothings" by Horace Greeley because it concealed its membership) made contributions despite its generally bigoted "nativism," some of its adherents becoming mainstays of the fusion efforts of the 50's, which in 1860 elected Lincoln and brought about the downfall of slavery. Into this amalgam went the anti-slavery Liberty Party; the Free Soilers, who wanted slavery barred in all new territory and who grew out of a split in the Democratic Party between the "Barnburners" (willing to burn down the barn to get rid of the rats, i.e. slaveholders) and the "Hunkers," who had no principles, only "hunkered" for public office; and the "conscience" Whigs, who quit their party over slavery and joined the Free Soilers.

The founding meeting of the Republican Party was called in a Congregational Church in Ripon, Wis., in 1854 by a Free Soiler, a Democrat and a Whig. Its first campaign in 1856—so much like the 1948 Wallace campaign with its youthful "Wide Awakes," its songs, parades and mass meetings—got 33% of the vote for John C. Fremont to oust the Whigs as the second party; and went on from there to its 1860 showdown on slavery.

Third Parties in American Politics, covering the years from 1820 to the present, should be on every home library shelf, for young and old alike. At $6 a copy, this hardly a likely possibility; but people ought to ask for it in public libraries and take steps to get it on school shelves, too, for the good guidance of our Locofocoes and Barnburners of the future.

—THE GUARDIAN

THE BASIC CONTRADICTIONS OF WASHINGTON'S POLICY

Keeping West Germany 'free' to threaten world peace

By Kumar Goshal

SECY. OF STATE Herter's June 24 report to the American people on the Geneva foreign ministers' conference was a remarkable feat of oversimplification and artful dodging of basic issues. It was more revealing in what it failed to say than in what it said. And what it said was contradicted in part by Washington's major ally, Britain.

Herter said that at Geneva "no significant progress was made toward settlement of the problem of [divided] Germany and of Berlin." But Prime Minister Macmillan told Parliament it would be a mistake to underrate the degree of success achieved at Geneva. He was reported (N.Y. **Times**, June 29) to have expressed the belief that the Soviet proposal for West Berlin—made just before the foreign ministers recessed till July 13—offered a basis for agreement at the summit.

THE CHIEF IRRITANT: Herter's main contentions were that Moscow wanted (1) to "free" West Berlin of Western forces in order to incorporate it into the German Democratic Republic, and (2) to keep Germany divided until it can be united into "a single German state under Communist influence." He maintained that a divided Germany will continue to threaten world peace and stability.

This is specious reasoning. The Western powers maintain only token forces in West Berlin, as a symbol of U.S. determination to take military action from bases located elsewhere against any attempt to absorb the city by force. This would still be possible if West Berlin, as a free city under UN supervision, were threatened.

West Berlin's status changed irrevocably when the two German states became sovereign. It then became a special irritant and breeding ground of tension as a Western espionage, propaganda and military enclave within the GDR. The Soviet interim proposal for West Berlin was meant to relieve this situation gradually in a year and a half.

THE REAL THREAT: It is not the division of Germany but the military and economic revival of the German Federal Republic under U.S. auspices that threatens the peace of the world. The Western powers have never claimed that the East German army and economic resources pose a threat to anyone; but Chancellor Adenauer's West Germany has already posed a military threat to the East and disturbed West European economic stability.

Vicky, London Evening Standard

"Tsk! tsk! Shocking the way these British behave in public, isn't it . . .?"

Adenauer's contemptuous treatment of the Bonn constitution, and his steamroller methods to keep dissidents in line, have brought home to many thoughtful persons the skin-deep nature of West German democracy. Karl Lowenstein, Amherst College professor and author of **Political Power and the Government Process**, wrote (**Times**, June 28) that Adenauer's actions have adversely affected "the tender sprouts of German democracy on the occasion of its first real trial [and] has left . . . a hidden trauma which may well have permanently undermined confidence in the usefulness and necessity of democratic processes."

THE GERMAN GENIUS: Others have been wondering how the West could accept West Germany as a trustworthy and democratic military ally so soon after Hitler and World War II. Mark Goulden, chairman of the British publishing firm of W. H. Allen & Co., wrote in a letter to the **Times** (June 1): "It is less than 15 years since the renowned German genius for method and industry was painstakingly engaged in the odious business of putting 6,000,000 human beings to shameful and lingering death. . . . Is 15 years enough to obliterate all memory of such an abomination? By all civilized juridical standards it takes longer than that for a reprieved murderer to expiate his single crime. What then is the time-span of atonement for 6,000,000 murders?"

Western memory of these murders has grown so dim that Bonn is reportedly being taken into unrestricted confidence by the West on military secrets and joint planning. The London weekly **Reynolds News** (June 21) said the journal **Die Politische Meinung** (Political Opinion) of Cologne, West Germany, reported that Bonn's Defense Minister Strauss recently had boasted of getting nuclear weapons secrets from the West, and that he was planning "concrete joint projects" including "a complete integrated air defense system."

MORE LIVING SPACE? Bonn will soon start production of 350 war planes, and is joining with France in rockets and nuclear warheads research. An indication as to what West Germany might do with such knowledge and weapons was given by Adenauer in Cologne on June 28. In an address to a crowd of Silesians—whose territory is now under Polish rule—he insisted on their right to return to their former homes.

As though to underscore Adenauer's position, the Socialist leader Norman Thomas said: "Today there are evidences of a rising militarism and chauvinism in West Germany which make it little short of criminal to arm it with the weapons of annihilation."

West Germany has thrown its full economic weight on the side of French imperialism and against Britain in the six-nation European Common Market. In retaliation Britain has launched a seven-nation rival trade area, which includes the Scandinavian countries, Austria, Portugal and Switzerland. The Bonn-dominated Common Market has made the Swiss uneasy; 35% of Switzerland's international trade is dependent on the water-borne traffic of the Rhine through West Germany. Some West German officials have expressed a desire to oust the British and Americans from the international Rhine commission and the Swiss fear trade and tariff restrictions if Bonn controls the commission.

BIG BROTHER CHARLES: Not only is a trade war looming as a result of West German economic muscle-flexing, backed by Adenauer, French President de Gaulle also tried to throw his weight around by proposing to Italian President Gronchi a Mediterranean alliance of France, Italy, Spain and Morocco. De Gaulle's explicit statement that France will lead the alliance, with Italy as junior partner, did not sit well with Rome. Italy has its own ambition to restore its "grandeur" in Africa—if necessary at the expense of other Western powers, including France.

Thus, peace and stability are being shaken in Europe and even in colonial Africa not by Moscow's "intransigence" but as a result of the inexorable consequences of the Acheson-Dulles policy of rearming West Germany and reviving its economic dominance at the expense of German democracy.

Tvorba, Prague

Adenauer's contrapuntal music for Geneva

The case of Chung Dick Chih

CHUNG DICK CHIH came to the United States in 1948 from China where he was a major in Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist Army. He settled in San Francisco and worked as an accountant until recently when Immigration Service officials said he overstayed his entry permit and ordered him deported.

On June 2 he was picked up and ordered aboard a transport set to sail at 11 a.m. (Pacific Daylight Time) for Taiwan. Meanwhile in Washington, Chung's lawyers petitioned District Judge Alexander Holtzoff for a stay of deportation. Holtzoff could not hear the case until that afternoon and asked Immigration Service general counsel L. Paul Winings to hold up the deportation until then.

Winings called Immigration Director Bruce Barber in San Francisco at 9:45 a.m. (PDT) and informed him of the judge's request. According to Winings, Barber said Chung would not be placed on the ship.

ALREADY AT SEA: That afternoon Holtzoff heard the case and ruled against a stay. But Chung's lawyers went immediately to the Court of Appeals, which agreed to hear the case on June 4. Government attorneys assured the defense counsel that Chung would not be deported before then.

But late that afternoon it was learned that Chung had been placed on the ship for Taiwan and was already at sea for several hours. Immigration counsel Winings remembered that the ship stopped at San Diego before heading across the Pacific. He called there and ordered Chung removed from the ship and detained pending a court decision. At GUARDIAN press time the court had not yet ruled.

MANY EXCUSES: Winings explained that his order to stop the deportation had either been garbled by a "misunderstanding" in San Francisco or it had arrived too late. But in San Francisco, Barber said he "wasn't aware" of any misunderstanding. He said he placed Chung aboard the ship because "we had ample time to flag him at San Diego if his deportation stay were granted." Later he said that East-West time differentials had caused the mishap.

Barber made headlines in April, 1958, when he deported William Heikkila to Finland although he knew that his case was pending in Federal court. After international protest, a Federal judge ordered Heikkila returned. He is still here, although the Immigration Service is again trying to deport him.

A matter of work—East and West

THE COMFORTABLE OLD NOTION that the Russians weren't sharp enough in science and technology to give the U.S. any real competition disappeared into the blue yonder when the first sputnik blasted into orbit.

Furthermore, visitors well qualified to size up what they see are bringing back a continuing series of reports of Russian progress in countless fields, from aviation to medicine. The latest is Fred Crawford, the Cleveland industrialist and space expert, who describes Russian achievements as "real good."

But Crawford also describes two other ingredients in the Russians' record of achievement—hard work, and a willingness to do without everyday comforts. The Russian people are really digging in.

This poses another challenge for the American people, one they've been notably reluctant to accept. There's still no general willingness to surrender any of the old comforts, to alter the generally-relaxed attitude which has become a kind of American trademark.

There's an increasingly nonchalant attitude toward jobs, too, a disposition to consider work as a kind of half-necessary nuisance, and not as an absorbing, challenging interest. The collective attitude, more and more, seems to be to get the most for the least.

Eighteen months ago the American people learned to their sorrow, when the Russian sputnik went aloft, that the Russians had swept ahead in research. Will they also awake to their sorrow on some future day to find that the Russians have swept past them in basic production?

—From a Cleveland Press editorial, June 18.

RIGHT WING LEADERS LOSE SUPPORT

British unions joining revolt against H-Bomb

By Gordon Shaffer
Special to the Guardian

LONDON

THE REVOLT against the H-bomb is the biggest issue in British politics. The campaign for Nuclear Disarmament has cut across party divisions, involving masses of men and women who have hitherto kept aloof from political struggles. It is in fact a revolt against the foreign policy alliance between the Conservative government and the dominant right-wing leadership of the Labor Party.

Under pressure from below, the Labor Party has made important, if not fundamental, changes in its foreign policy outlook, but has muffed the opportunity to lead the nation by a declaration of total repudiation of the nuclear arms policy. The battle against the bomb has been waged largely outside the political arena; but it has drawn much strength from rank-and-file members of trade unions, the Labor Party, the Cooperative movement and from a few leaders and MP's willing to challenge the party machine.

THE UNIONS MOVE: This leaven has overnight transformed the nuclear disarmament campaign by winning the support of the trade unions, on which the Labor Party's right wing has relied. The giant General and Municipal Workers' Union, which has never opposed the leadership, recently demanded that Britain should unilaterally renounce the bomb.

Members of the right-wing Clerical Workers Union are collecting signatures to take a referendum on the same subject. This policy may well be adopted by the railwaymen, miners and transport workers at their forthcoming conferences, threatening defeat for the leaders at the Trades Union Congress and Labor Party conferences this autumn.

As a maneuver against such defeat, the Labor Party on June 24 proposed an international agreement under which all nations except the U.S. and the Soviet Union would pledge "not to test, manufacture or possess nuclear weapons." The agreement would be subject to a control and inspection system.

The proposal rejected unilateral nuclear disarmament by Britain and pledged continued support for NATO and U.S. bases here. It was approved by the party's national executive committee and the TUC general council. It might be considered a step forward were it not for the fact that the right wing counted on French determination to possess nuclear weapons; if France refused to abandon the bomb, the agreement would be invalid. Labor MP Michael Foot called the proposal "a fake."

"AN UNHOLY MUDDLE": A new Labor Party foreign policy could be based only on refusal to accept U.S. bombers and nuclear bases in Britain and a rejection of NATO and other military alliances. As Labor MP Konni Zilliacus said:

"Labor has got into such an unholy muddle about nuclear weapons because [its] foreign policy is based (broadly speaking and with a certain amount of confusion) on the correct assumption that the Soviet Union wants peace and we can therefore accept it as a partner in organizing and keeping peace through the UN. But our defense policy continues to be based on the false assumption that the Soviet Union wants war and we must therefore sacrifice our independence in order to go on preparing war against her through NATO, SEATO and the Baghdad Pact."

The Labor Party's position is that some of its leaders have not moved as far as the first assumption, while others accept it but will not accept the consequences. Even Aneurin Bevan, to the dismay of his friends, expressed the view at a party meeting that for Labor to advocate renunciation of the bomb would be electoral suicide.

Zec, London Daily Herald

Gaitskell to Bevan: "How did we get up here in the first place?"

HE WON'T STAND UP: It is interesting to note that many Tory leaders, including Prime Minister Macmillan, are in the same dilemma. Macmillan has made no secret since he returned from Moscow of his conviction that the Soviet Union is ready to go almost to any length to ensure peace. But he too will not draw the inevitable conclusions, nor will he stand up to his Western allies.

But public opinion is gaining momentum. West German Chancellor Adenauer's flouting of the democratic processes has awakened memories of Germany's previous "men of destiny" who plunged Europe into two wars. Rearming of Bonn and plans to give it nuclear weapons have increased public misgivings. If Americans hitch themselves to the Adenauer wagon, they will one day find themselves friendless and alone in Europe.

An immediate task is to turn this movement against nucelar weapons into practical pressures for success at the foreign ministers conference, when it resumes, or at summit level. A test suspension agreement will keep France from incurring the hatred and anger of the Africans by exploding a bomb in the Sahara. If Britain can be forced to take an unequivocal stand for peace, it will encourage the growing forces for peace everywhere—even and especially in West Germany.

A move to exert such pressure on the government was launched June 28 with a London "March for Life" rally organized by the British Peace Committee. More than 10,000 persons heard Paul Robeson speak and sing and approved a resolution condemning the H-bomb and U.S. bases in Britain. The meeting urged Britain to take the lead in ending the nuclear war threat.

Atomic hearings

(Continued from Page 1)

ing of warning signals, if they hear them. Many do not know where to go, how to get to shelters or what to take with them. Few are constructing shelters in their homes."

Holifield called the hearings because "in time of national emergency an uninformed public could present a very real hazard to the nation's security."

THE BOX SCORE: These are some of the things the scientists predicted will follow the described attack:

- 48,900,000 people will be killed; 20,000,000 more will be injured but will probably recover.
- About half the survivors will die from "a combination of radiation exposure and associated disturbances." From 5% to 20% of the survivors will receive 400 roentgens of radiation, enough to reduce their life span by 11 years.
- Survivors will also be endangered by uncontrolled fires and contaminated food and crops.
- From genetic damage, 17,000,000 to one billion Americans in the next 30 generations will die prematurely or be born with physical defects.

THE CONCLUSIONS: The scientists said a 10-megaton surface blast will destroy all life and property in a 25-mile radius and envelop the area in a fire storm. For example, if two such bombs were dropped near the Brooklyn Bridge in New York City, 6,098,000 people would be killed. In addition, people looking in the direction of the blast would suffer total or partial blindness, depending on their distance from the explosion.

But in the end, Holifield heard what he wanted to hear: Much of the nation could survive an attack, but many more will live if we expend tremendous energy now in a civil defense program.

The Washington **Post** thought this might be the reasoning behind the Pentagon's testimony: "If the Kremlin should feel . . . that a nuclear war would really exterminate the human race and that this was also the consensus here, it might have grounds for questioning whether this country would ever really fight such a war."

Nuclear physicist Dr. Ralph Lapp questioned the committee's premises. He said that a bomb detonated above the earth's atmosphere will cause fires and burns from two to five times the distance of surface blasts. He also thought the committee had underestimated the size of the bombs. He said: "Your planning should be in terms of a 10,000 to 20,000 megaton attack by 1965."

CURVE OF EXTINCTION: I. F. Stone's **Weekly** (June 29) found an answer for Lapp: "The 22 pages of lovely mathematics and charts in **Operations Research** (March-April, 1959, issue reporting a study by the Institute for Defense Analysis) may explain why the men behind the Holifield hearings assumed only 1,453 megatons falling on this country. At that level 'only' 20% of our people would be killed . . . After 20,000 megatons . . . the curves of casualties and death meet in total extinction. It is only by assuming this fantasy of a limited attack . . . that it is possible even to conceive of a nuclear war, and of anything and anyone left to rebuild."

The N.Y. **Post** took a dim view of the hearings: "This psychological warfare can be dangerously self-defeating for the Pentagon brinksmen. To the ordinary citizen the horror of atomic war is apparent; the picture of a whole civilization fleeing for the caves is the modern nightmare . . .

"What we need are neither bomb scares nor bomb shelters. We need leaders with the vision to pursue the quest for rational peace, no matter how long the road, how big the obstacles, how devious the adversary."

THE MAN IN THE AIR IS LEON J. DAVIS

The celebration is over the agreement which ended a 46-day strike of nonprofessional workers in seven New York voluntary hospitals. Davis, president of the striking local, said the agreement opens the way to "building a powerful union in every voluntary hospital in the city."

MOSCOW, June 27 (AP)—Regardless of talk of nuclear attack and counterattack, Moscow has not taken the trouble to have an air-raid drill.

There are no air-raid shelters in the city in active service, nor is there any indication of where to run in case the big flash comes. A few air-raid shelters exist from wartime, some on the outskirts of the city, some in the basements of houses and apartment buildings.

A few observers thought that when Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev set May 27 as a sort of deadline for settling the Berlin question, there would be a hasty shaping up of shelters as the day approached. But there just is no war expectancy in Moscow. People who have traveled outside the city to spots far from this sometimes agitated capital say there is even less elsewhere. —N. Y. **Times**, June 28

CONGRESSIONAL CURBERS UNAPPEASED

Is the Supreme Court veering to the Right?

IS THE POLITICAL TIDE turning again in favor of the witch hunters and against constitutional liberties? Within the past month, on successive Mondays, the Supreme Court has:

- Beclouded the citizen's protection against double jeopardy proceedings by upholding successive state and Federal prosecutions for the same offense.
- Permitted housing inspections by public officials without warrants.
- Denied (in the Uphaus case) witnesses the right to withhold from state investigating committees information regarding alleged subversion.
- Bolstered the questionable authority of the House Committee on Un-American Activities by affirming its right to compel answers in inquisitions in the field of education.
- Limited the access of defendants in Federal criminal cases to government records of the testimony of witnesses against them.

TO STARBOARD: The **Christian Science Monitor** headlined a June 19 article on the Court's course: "After Much Stormy Leftward Sailing It Appears to Be Bearing to Starboard." The article, by Washington correspondent Monroe W. Karmin, pointed out that the civil liberties decisions do not stand alone, but follow "a detectable conservative influence in other types of litigation, mainly those involving economic issues." It particularly noted the Court's gas-rate ruling (GUARDIAN, Jan. 9, 1959) holding that operators of a natural gas pipeline can initiate higher rates, subject to a refund, while the Federal Power Commission is investigating the legality of the new schedules.

The St. Petersburg, Fla., **Times** in a June 22 editorial offered the estimate that five such decisions, "coming one after the other on the heels of renewed Congressional agitation to 'curb the Court,' make it appear as though the majority of the Justices are virtually in a panic."

NOT ACCIDENTAL: Whether the Court is panicked or not, it seems clear that its course at the moment is being charted by a new conservative majority. That majority in the key Uphaus and Barenblatt cases consisted of Justices Clark, Frankfurter, Harlan, Whittaker and Stewart. Chief Justice Warren joined with Justices Douglas, Black and Brennan in the liberal minority.

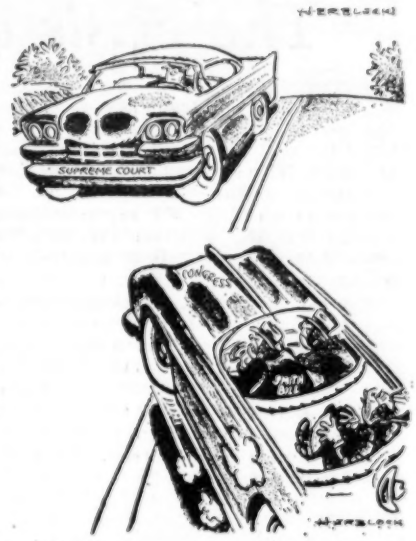
Any thought that the Court's reversal of its earlier direction would placate its Congressional enemies was shattered when the House of Representatives on June 24 passed HR 3, a bill limiting the Court's power to determine that Federal laws supersede state legislation in the same field. The bill provides that unless Congress declares its intention to preempt the field, or unless there is a "direct and positive conflict" between the two, state enactments must stand. The measure, sponsored by Rep. Howard W. Smith (D-Va.), passed 225 to 112. It explicitly overruled the Court's 1956 decision which reversed a conviction of Steve Nelson, then a Pennsylvania Communist leader, under a state sedition law.

CALIFORNIA HEARINGS: In its last decision day before closing for the summer, the Court handed down rulings in 31 cases, including important civil liberties cases (see box).

The Court's back-tracking in the Barenblatt and Uphaus decisions has already given the Un-American Activities Committee a considerable boost. The Committee has scheduled hearings in San Francisco on Sept. 1 and Los Angeles on Sept. 15. Originally called for June, the hearings were postponed after some 110 teachers (70 in Southern California and 40 in the San Francisco-Bay area) had been served with subpenas and their names publicized.

In explaining the postponement, Committee Chairman Francis E. Walter (D-Pa.) stated that "the ramifications of the Communist operation in California are so extensive and malignant that additional investigative work must be done before the actual hearings can be held."

HIT AND RUN: But the dissent from this view was widespread and the opposition to the Committee spirited in California. Noting that the teachers now stood accused with no opportunity to defend themselves for the next three months, the San Francisco **Chronicle** commented: "This kind of procedure is hardly in accord with the best American practice, though it is not new with the House Un-American Activities Committee."



Herblock, Washington Post
Kamikaze Pilot

The Fresno **Bee** and a chain of independent community papers published by S. Waxman expressed a similar view. And the Board of Directors of the California Democratic Council said: "These hit and run tactics violate basic principles of fair play. They do serious damage, not only to the individual teachers, but to the educational system as a whole."

The Los Angeles Committee to Preserve American Freedoms scheduled a mass meeting in opposition to the hearings and a conference of community leaders to canvass the legal and political implications of the Barenblatt and Uphaus decisions. It also prepared for distribution a printed abstract of Justice Black's dissent in the Barenblatt case.

A Teachers Defense Committee in Southern California and similar groups in the San Francisco area planned to work through the summer to prepare public opinion for the fall invasion of the Congressional investigators.

Court voids risk program in industry

Recessing until October, the Supreme Court on June 29:

- Ruled invalid the government's security risk program covering some 3,000,000 defense workers and indirectly affecting some 5,000,000 more. The specific case was that of William L. Greene, discharged from an $18,000 executive job at Aeronautical Research Corp. for allegedly sharing the left-wing views of his former wife, Jean Hinton. The opinion—by Chief Justice Warren and dissented from wholly only by Justice Clark—said that neither the President nor Congress had authorized a risk program under which people could be dismissed without opportunity to confront informers against them. Justices Harlan, Frankfurter and Whittaker concurred in the ruling, which had the effect of reinstating Greene in his job with back pay to 1953, but balked at the implication that failure to permit confrontation was unconstitutional.
- Ordered reargument next fall on the Smith Act clause under which Junius Scales and others have been convicted for Communist Party membership.
- Set aside a one-year suspension of attorney Harriet Bouslog Sawyer by the Hawaii Supreme Court for a speech she made allegedly reflecting on the judge in the Hawaii Smith Act cases in which she was a defense lawyer.

Congress record

(Continued from Page 1)

of Congress, despite the continuing crisis in the countryside.

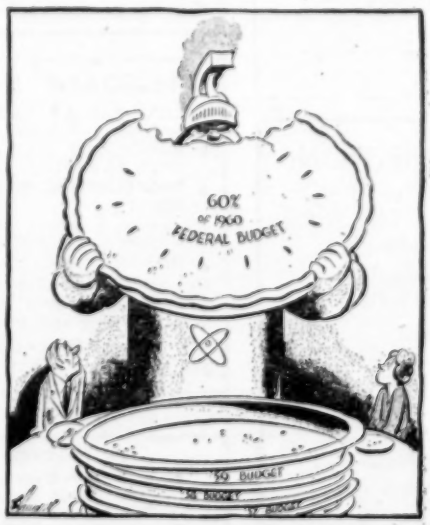
In drafting housing and airport construction legislation, Congress scrapped liberal measures which had been introduced and sought to meet the President's limited specifications for Federal aid.

HOUSING AND AIRPORTS: In January President Eisenhower sent to Congress a housing program calling for expenditures of $1,600,000,000 over a six-year period. This sum would be used for slum clearance, low-cost public housing and construction of college facilities. Both the House and Senate passed bills including much higher appropriations. But when the President implied he'd veto them, Congressional conferees agreed on a compromise measure nearer White House specifications. The bill would expend $1,375,000,000 in two years. Budget Director Maurice H. Stans said he would recommend that the President veto the bill.

On the airport aid bill Congress capitulated even before sending the measure to the White House. The Senate approved a $465,000,000 four-year program to modernize the nation's airports in line with requirements of the jet age. The House pared the appropriation to $297,000,000. When President Eisenhower again threatened a veto, the Senate withdrew its plan and voted continuation of the present grant rate of $63,000,000 a year for two years. On June 29 the President signed the bill, noting that it was just what he wanted.

DON'T SHOOT, PARDNER: Sen. A. S. (Mike) Monroney (D-Okla.) who engineered the backdown, bemoaned the fact that the President held "a loaded veto gun at our heads."

The basic philosophy of the Administration is to take the Government out of all fields of social legislation as soon as possible. The failure of the Democrats to challenge successfully this position has severely damaged chances of passing legislation dealing with Federal standards for unemployment insurance, increased minimum wage rates and expansion of social security, and Federal aid to education and to depressed areas.



Baltimore Evening Sun
The man who came to dinner

REIGN OF REASONABLENESS: The dilemma of the Democrats is becoming more acute as the nation moves closer to the 1960 elections. One of the more vocal Senate liberals, Clark of Pennsylvania, recently put it this way: "The record of the Democratic Senate on which the nominee will have to run, regardless of whether he is a member of this body, will be indistinguishable from the position of the Republican Administration which he is seeking to displace. If the people cannot detect any difference between the parties, why should they wish to make a change?"

Clark's remarks were directed, by implication, at Senate Majority Leader Lyndon B. Johnson, chief architect of the reign of reasonableness in the Senate. Defending his extraordinary efforts to avoid the Presidential veto, Johnson has said, "I do not believe we were sent here to paralyze government."

The Johnson view has been criticized by the non-official Democratic Advisory Council, the Committee for an Effective Congress, Americans for Democratic Action and a handful of his liberal Democratic colleagues. To date, the criticism has had no effect on the performance of the Democratic majority in Congress.

NO PUBLIC PRESSURE: There is no indication the Democrats are ready to follow the advice of Sen. Wayne Morse of Oregon "to take the fight to the country and to pass no legislation at all until the country has had an opportunity to pass judgment on the course of action which the Administration has followed."

The lack of popular judgment on legislative matters would seem to be one of the major needs of the day. Lobbying for popular measures has been at a minimum. Mass pressure in the form of letters and delegations to Congressmen has been rare. In this setting it is not surprising that Johnson in the Senate and House Speaker Sam Rayburn can get away with a program which seems to interpret last November's Democratic landslide as a sort of vote of confidence in President Eisenhower's conservative policies.

COALITION AGAINST CIVIL RIGHTS: This setting has also been ideal for the revival of the Republican-Dixiecrat coalition. Columnist Drew Pearson reported the formation of a formal compact in the House between 33 Republicans and 33 Southern Democrats aimed at blocking social legislation. The group is headed by Howard Smith, (D-Va.), author of the Smith Act, and Minority Leader Charles Halleck, the President's spokesman in the House.

Under the shadow of this coalition, the outlook for civil rights legislation is bleak. Though hearings were concluded six weeks ago, the Senate Constitutional Rights Subcommittee has not yet managed to report a bill. When it does, the bill will then be subjected to the handling of Judiciary Committee Chairman James O. Eastland, Mississippi's defender of white supremacy.

In the field of foreign policy, the area of agreement between Democrats and Republicans extends beyond conservatives to embrace the overwhelming majority of legislators of both parties. The Democrats, in fact, make it a practice, in the name of peace, to propose additions to the Administration's military budget.

REPUBLOCRAT POLICY: New York **Times** columnist Arthur Krock praised a recent Democratic Advisory Council pamphlet because it "contains a carefully reasoned and persuasive argument why expenditures should be increased to close the missile gap and to increase our conventional forces."

This probably provides the most important answer to Rep. Ashley's "whodunit." It's not so much that the "liberal legislative body" has vanished. It never really materialized because of the failure of the Congressmen to break away from the cold war premises which have doomed progressive legislation for the past decade and longer.

BOOKS

The crisis of patriotism

PATRIOTISM (in the words of the best Fourth of July polemic we have run across this season) is like a cankered flower. Its beauty is no longer clear and pure. When we see it from one side it inspires us with admiration, and we consent to its truth. But when we turn it over, it is ugly and repulsive, and we know that to pretend it is beautiful is deceit.

The words are those of Joseph Morray, Annapolis '40, Harvard Law School '48, Intelligence officer during World War II and Korea, later naval attache at the U.S. Embassy in Madrid, currently Visiting Professor of Law at the Univ. of California at Berkeley. Prof. Morray speaks his mind in a new book called **Pride of State*** which he was moved to write upon his release from active duty because of his alarm at the spread of McCarthy-type "patriotism" throughout his native land.

"I am primarily concerned for the welfare of the United States," his preface and introduction explain. "I leave to the Russians a criticism of the Soviet Union.... Abroad we are embarked on an incipient imperialism . . . at home the American communists are more sinned against than sinning . . . Patriotism seems to inhibit both freedom and individual responsibility by inculcating a blind obedience and placing a premium on conformity . . . This is the tension which creates a crisis of patriotism . . . We are uncomfortable. Something is wrong inside. Schizophrenia."

PROF. MORRAY is not against patriotism; he is for it on a world scale, which he feels would cure the schizophrenia. On the local level, he finds far more harm than good in it. The open mind, for example, is "not the habit of the patriot. It is no exaggeration to say that patriotism frowns on philosophy itself as dangerous free-thinking." The patriotism professed by white supremacists is to Lee, "whose patriotism does not yield to that of Abraham Lincoln."

The ideal of freedom to a white southerner is likely to include the guarantee of racial segregation. Northerners recognize the deceit in charges of subversion brought in the South against the NAACP, but is not the character of such actions the same as that of anti-communist campaigns? "Are northerners seeing the mote in the eye of southern aristocrats and missing the beam in their own?"

If a different concept of patriotism calls for a sacrifice of unequal power, "it is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a privilege to abdicate to the general welfare."

The pure capitalist spirit is not patriotic; in fact the spirit of capitalism is free from patriotism. The capitalist interest is not the general welfare, but financial return on its investment. Glen McCarthy pours millions into Bolivian oil wells, probably with some benefit to the country. But such benefits could hardly be said to spring from Bolivian patriotism, any more than the good roads French colons have built in Algeria spring from Algerian patriotism. The French in Algeria, far from being Algerian patriots, spiritually are "aliens in the country wherein they dwell . . . a moraine from the imperialist glaciers now receding."

THE FOREGOING is an assemblage of characteristic quotes from Prof. Morray's 14 chapters; and the "imperialist glaciers" figure of speech is similarly characteristic of a polemic written with rhetorical flourish and drawing freely and brilliantly on a wonderful fund of world history, literature and the politics of the day.

Here are a few more of Prof. Morray's concepts:

- The spirit of patriotism best thrives where there is a large measure of material equality. Such equality requires a general spirit of frugality. But this would bring on a crisis of overproduction, a catastrophe to capitalism. To prevent this, capitalism employs its minister, advertising, "to make us dissatisfied with what we already possess.

"It is no exaggeration to say that the Jesuits and political commissars of America are her doctors of advertising."

- A man of sensitive conscience can embrace communism out of love of country. He loves it as a wife her husband, critically, with an interest in making it better. In such hearts lies the seed of a fruitful patriotism which will be "quick to step between the oppressor and the oppressed."

What does the Smith Act do to these potential patriots? It outlaws them, puts many in jail as enemies of their people.

- The patriot will look to the general welfare, and he will insist that social peace is more important than the continuation of middle-class rule. He will therefore insist that no unfair advantage be taken of the lower class by the middle class in control of the powers of government. He will see that if this becomes the practice violence cannot be avoided.
- "The capitalist conspiracy" is no mere literary fiction. It is the well organized concert of American businessmen which is determined to make any American participation in world economic affairs a Trojan horse of capitalism.

If his tenure holds as visiting professor at Berkeley, Prof. Morray should get together with another great radical rhetorician in the Bay Area of California—Vincent Hallinan. Together they might draft the manifestoes and emblazon the banners for the coming of a society fit for true patriots.

—John T. McManus

**PRIDE OF STATE, a Study in Patriotism and American National Morality, by Joseph P. Morray. Beacon Press, Beacon Hill, Boston, Mass. 173 pp. $4.*

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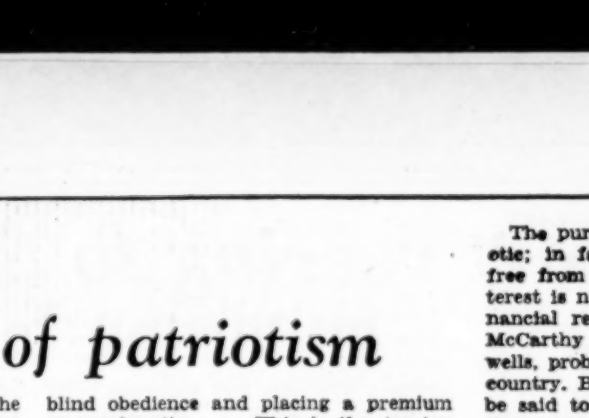

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July 17-19 Weekend, Mountain Springs Camp—Washington, New Jersey
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August 1, 12 noon to 6 p.m., Picnic, Annette T. Rubinstein's summer place on the Taconic Pkway at Shrub Oak, N.Y.
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August 16, 8 p.m. Starlight Forum*
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PUBLICATIONS

SEE: george bratt's work pants in last week's issue
READ: on the boss's time
HE: "couldn't put the book down until (he) had finished it." walter lowenfels—mainstream
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Copy deadline Monday before publication. Please send payment with copy. Address: Classified, National Guardian, 197 East 4th Street, New York 9, N.Y.

THE GALLERY

IN 1952 THE PENTAGON decided to find a new site for the Armed Forces Staff College, currently housed in seven temporary buildings in Norfolk, Va. To consider 15 proposed locations, the Joint Chiefs of Staff set up a committee. The commandant of the college set up another committee to inspect six other sites. The Chief of Naval Operations set up a third committee which investigated 23 other locations.

Seven years and 44 investigations later, the third committee's recommendation was the one adopted by the Joint Chiefs this year. It concluded: "The site which most nearly satisfied the Armed Forces Staff College requirements . . . is the existing facility at Norfolk."

TWO LABOR LEADERS from Ghana, part of a delegation visiting Baltimore last month, stopped to look in the window of a local furniture store. They headed for the store entrance to ask directions to the post office, but the owner slammed the door. He rushed to the phone and complained to police that "some strange looking characters" were loitering near his store. Police arrived and arrested the Ghanaians as "suspicious characters." At the station they were recognized and released with apologies. At about that time, two other members of the delegation walked into a bar and ordered beer. The beer was handed to them in a paper bag. Mayor Arthur Ellington told the visitors he was "sincerely sorry." He said: "I was very upset about the incident because the Communists make heyday of such things." . . . Composer Duke Ellington has been chosen winner of the 1959 Spingarn Medal by the NAACP. The medal is awarded annually "for the highest achievement by an American Negro during the preceding year or years."

London Daily Mail

"Now I won't give you any drivel about us being one big happy family!"

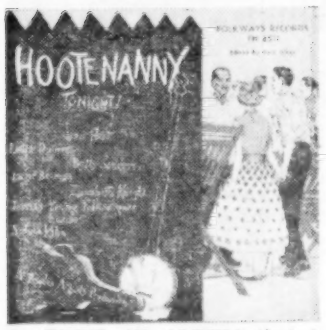
DR. HEWLETT JOHNSON, the 85-year-old Dean of Canterbury, announced that he has been receiving Substance H3 treatments from Rumanian Dr. Anna Aslan. "It has restored powers which I had lost and it's making me act and feel as if several years had been taken off my age," he said. . . . The Soviet Exhibition at New York's Coliseum occupies three floors. A large portion of the first floor is devoted to a fashion show. Elsewhere three full-scale models of Sputniks are on display. The GUARDIAN will carry a full report in a later issue. . . . Dr. Leon A. Greenberg, director the Yale Center of Alcoholic Studies, says that when you pour black coffee into an intoxicated person, "all that happens is that you have a wide-awake drunk on your hands, instead of a sleepy one." . . . Miniature reproductions of the Arlington, Va., Marine memorial, celebrating the capture of Mt. Surabachi on Iwo Jima from the Japanese in World War II, are on sale in Washington. The legend on the base of the statues: "Made in Japan." . . . The New Zealand broadcasting service withdrew from the air children's records featuring characters using bad grammar. Among the banned is Bugs Bunny.

—Robert E. Light

A MAIL ORDER SERVICE OFFERING CONSUMER-TESTED MERCHANDISE AT A SAVING

GBS GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE

Three Fine New Records



HERE'S AN ALBUM that is sheer joy for folk music lovers—a re-release, in 12" LP form of two 1954 "hootenannies" featuring many of the best known folk singers. "Hoots" (jam sessions of folk singers) were very popular around New York in the middle 50's, thanks largely to the now-defunct People's Artists. Irwin Silber recorded two of them, and **Folkways**, as a result, has issued this extraordinary record containing 40 minutes of infectious, relaxing music that'll have you clapping your hands and joining in with the "hoot" audiences.

The songs cover a variety of moods, tempos and languages and the artists' styles vary greatly as well. They include an All-Star cast of Pete Seeger, Sonny Terry, Leon Bibb, Betty Sanders, Laura Duncan, Earl Robinson, Bob and Louise DeCormier, Elizabeth Knight, Jerry Silverman, Sylvia Kahn, Jackie Berman, the Jewish Young Folksingers, Al Moss—and Les Pine delivering his famous monologue on depressions.

SIDE ONE: Cowboy's Gettin' Up Holler, Mule Skinner Blues, Great Gettin' Up Morning, Varsovienne, The Rich Man and the Poor Man, Talking Union, Dance Me a Jig, Le Cycle Du Vin, Wimoweh — SIDE TWO: Dark as a Dungeon, Children's Peace Song, Home In That Rock, Hamentashen, Riding The Dragon, California Blues, Depression, Every Night When the Sun Goes In, Told My Captain, America the Beautiful.

BECAUSE OF THE enormous success of Martha Schlamme's album of Jewish folk songs (more than 1,000 were sold by GBS alone), **Vanguard** Records has just released a sequel. It contains many familiar songs sung in Yiddish and a few beautiful but obscure ones uncovered by Miss Schlamme.

Miss Schlamme is in unusual voice, which for her means lovely and warm. Robert DeCormier has again put delightful arrangements and instrumentation behind the soprano. Also, the recording quality is superb.

If you have heard the first album, announcement of the new one will suffice. But if you are not familiar with Miss Schlamme's singing and DeCormier's arrangements and need a selling job, let us say this: If there is a better combination or a warmer, more charming album, we never heard it. And, you don't have to understand Yiddish to appreciate it.

SIDE ONE: Lo mir alle fraylech zein, Der Rebbe Elimelech, Zog Maran, Der Fetter Nuss'n, Margaritkelech, Tumba Tumba, Chazkele, Rozhinkes mit Mandlen, Teire Malke. SIDE TWO: Dos Pastuchi, Vos Villstu, S'dremlen Feygl oyf di Tsvaygn, Lomir sich Iberbeten, S'loifn S'yugn Schwartze Wolkns, Dana, Dana, Dana, Unzer Rebbenu, Bie dem Stetl.

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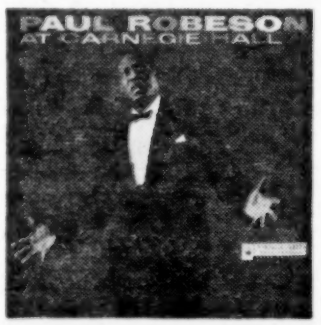
NEWSPAPER

Paul Robeson at Carnegie Hall



Here's the fine new Robeson record by Vanguard which we announced last week. It's the recording of Robeson's concert at Carnegie Hall, May 9, 1958—just before he left for Europe. **Paul Robeson at Carnegie Hall** contains many old favorites and a few songs you've never heard before, plus two extraordinary readings. The first is from **Othello** ("I have given the state some service . . .") in the full, rich baritone that will send chills up your spine. The second is a fine reading and song from "Boris Godounov" never recorded by Robeson before.

Sooner or later you'll add this wonderful record to your library. Why not get it now at our low price of

$3.75

SIDE ONE: Every Time I Feel The Spirit, Balm in Gilead, Volga Boat Song, Monologue from Othello, O Thou Silent Night, Chinese Children's Song, My Curly Headed Baby, Old Man River, Going Home.

SIDE TWO: Monologue from Boris Godounov, The Orphan, Christ lag in Todesbanden, Didn't My Lord Deliver Daniel, Lullaby (Schubert), O No John, Joe Hill, Jacob's Ladder. Piano accompaniment by Alan Booth.

the SPECTATOR

China's children

PEKING

ALL CHINA celebrates International Children's Day in June with two nights and days of children's parties, dances, shows, celebrations of every kind. From Harbin south to Canton, from Peking west to Lhasa in Tibet, China goes for children in a big way.

Big stocks of new toys, children's books, picture albums, colorful clothing were featured in all the shops. New children's films appear, famous cartoonists put out children's posters.

Every primary school and kindergarten prepares programs. While the celebration was on, any time you went out in the street you were likely to run into a parade of a few hundred kids, with their teachers or group leaders, going somewhere for something. To an exhibition, to a Children's Palace, to a Science Center, to the lake.

FOR TWO EVENINGS the whole of Chungshan Park in the middle of Peking was given over to the children—12,000 the first night and 20,000 the second. The whole park was decorated with red, yellow and green electric lights on every tree and along the roofs of every building, and festooning all the artificial hills.

There were five big "Play Areas" each about half a mile square, and each with a half dozen stages and attractions, puppet shows, song ensembles, acrobats, everything a child might like.

I watched an acrobat performance but to me the show consisted in the 500 or more children seated neatly on the ground, a solid mass of children with red neckerchiefs as far back as the light went, and beyond the light a probable 500 more in the dimness under trees; that was the audience of a single "attraction." Not a single child yelled or pushed or was rowdy. They were gay to the tips of their fingers and toes and everyone was well behaved.

Five vacant chairs were set in a prominent front corner, and no child even thought of taking them. "Those," they told me, "are for our foreign guests." I took one gladly. It certainly made things easier in that crowd.

BETWEEN THE DOZEN shows every road and path and open space was filled with circles of dancers or games of many kinds. Laughter, singing and dancing from one end of that park to the other. People who wanted to pass formed in long lines holding hands and snaked each other along, gently around the dancing groups.

The vice-mayor of Peking and a couple of vice-premiers of China and several "combat Heroes" of the army were somewhere in the crowd, making short speeches, telling children to "study hard, love labor, build health and be upright, honest and brave."

Other cities, I learned next day, were much the same. Shanghai had its park celebration and also featured "Open House" in the homes of many famous scientists, artists, actors and sportsmen, so that 10,000 child fans might pay visits and be "guests" of the famous people. Meanwhile every city was publishing its achievements in the line of schools and children's work.

Shanghai, biggest city of China, has 3,000,000 children. All of them, brags Shanghai, "are now assured of good care from the day they are born." The city points with pride to its 15 maternity hospitals, five children's hospitals, 26,000 nurseries and kindergartens, and its 1,500,000 children in primary schools. Four times as many as

SOME MEMBERS OF A COMMUNE KINDERGARTEN

before liberation, says Shanghai. Not to mention children's parks, children's palaces, children's cinemas, operas and science centers.

BUT OF ALL these great achievements none moved me as much as the news from Lhasa, the capital of high Tibet where they have opened their third primary school and plan a fourth. Till now the children of serfs were not allowed to attend school: any serf child that as much as carried a text-book openly in the streets of Lhasa was likely to get knocked down and beaten up by his owner.

"A rapid rise in school enrollment has been taking place in Lhasa, Chamdo, Loka and other places," read the news on Children's Day. "After the quelling of the rebellion, 1,500 new applicants registered for two primary schools, more than they could hold. A third primary school was opened in Lhasa last month. This overflowed with 600 registrations. A fourth primary school will soon be set up. In the Loka Area, the primary school enrollment has trebled in the month and a half since the rebellion was quelled."

That was the morning news from Tibet on Children's Day. I think it is more important news than the announcements by the Dalai Lama or by New Delhi or by Peking.

—Anna Louise Strong